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Political Advertising Design in Nigeria, 1960-2007

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Introduction

Before Nigeria's Independence in 1960, the composition of its geographical entity metamorphosed into three distinct divisions in 1900, notably: Northern Protectorate, Southern Protectorate and the Lagos Colony. By 1906, the country was simply made up of Northern and Southern Nigeria. And finally, following the Amalgamation of both divisions, in 1914, the space became a country. Further restructuring of the country was by exercises of Richardson constitution between 1945 and 1951 which divided Nigeria into three regions made up of North, West and the East. Furthermore, it was McPharson's Constitution of 1951-1954 which finally established regional legislative powers. Perhaps, the most remarkable milestone recorded at this point was the emergence of Azikiwe, Awolowo and Sardunana of Sokoto as the leaders of business in these regional structures. But certainly, the constitutional surgery performed by Lyttleton in 1954 introduced reduction on power grip by the central government, which survived till independence in 1960, even up to 1966 when the military seized the government.

Given the overview of Nigeria evolution trends, there were contextual issues that created the need for intensified publicity by the emerging political class towards the independence. Among them were Imperialism and its shenanigans resolve in

partisanship, self interest as well as divide and rule. The last attempt created dichotomy between the emerging educated class as well as their nationalist leaders. Coleman (1986) gives credence to this:

With many notable exceptions, the characteristics attitude of resident Europeans toward the educated Africans was one of the contempt, amusement, condescension or veiled hostility, depending upon the individual relationship. From the turn of the century until the late 1940s many visitors to Nigeria, and other parts of British West Africa, commented on the tension and animosity between Europeans and educated Africans.

These major factors as recorded by Coleman are simply tips of the ice berg. Clearly, the battle for independence was quite hectic as history reveals. This was simply because heinous motive rested on the accumulation of wealth from its colonies. Such tendencies, added to others made the British administrations adopt several attitudes and policies to protect their foreign investments. Invariably, their calculated policies deterred the nationalists from attaining their goals on independence earlier. Again, the colonial authority derelict and contemptuous relationship with the Nigerian educated class also encouraged rejection and acceptance of a particular figure as the arrow head of the struggle, particularly, when it was obvious that Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe was the foremost nationalist. To some of the nationalists these British shenanigans made them undaunted as they fought with vigour and greater intensity towards their goals.

Politics, Colonialism and Graphics

Political awareness towards the emancipation of Africans from colonialism was initiated as early as the turn of 20th century. According to the publication *Gold Coast Independent*: “If the African volunteers were good enough to fight and die in the Empire, they were good enough to have a share in the government of their countries” (Davidson, 1984, p. 310). Seemingly, it was action rather than inspiring editorial that was required at that point; as a follow-up. By 1920s sizable portion of Africans were educated in the Western sense.

In particular, at the formation of the National Congress of British West Africa in Accra in 1920, Casely Hayford’s Inaugural Address provided the establishing shot required for positive action impinged with a sense of urgency. His statement: “We desire” was compelling and underpins timely intervention required. Hayford’s economy of words spoke volumes: “As the intelligentsia of our people to promote unity among our people” underlines the readiness and benefits of the desired emancipation, awareness, equity and freedom from colonialism. Casely’s clarion call gingered fervent nationalism among the African as well as Nigerian elite in later years.

Some years later, engineered political activism started in Nigeria from Herbert Macaulay to Nnamdi Azikiwe as well as Obafemi Awolowo and Sir Ahmadu Bello who led various political parties: National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), Action Group (AG) and the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC). The political parties, among others, participated in the 1959 election that ushered in Independence in 1960. Intensified effort to terminate colonial rule perhaps could be more discernible from Davidson:

Earlier demands for equality and emancipation now became nationalism in the narrow sense of the word – Gathering in Manchester in 1945, the members of the sixth – Pan African Congress, including Kwameh Nkrumah, afterwards President of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta afterwards President of Kenya and a representative of Nnamdi Azikiwe, afterward President of Nigeria, still spoke (as some afterward continue to speak, but with new authority) of Pan African cause, but then struck a markedly new note. Unlike their predecessors, demanded not only respect for Africans, but also autonomy and even independence (p. 314).

Davidson's account reflects the thought of many colonial authorities including Perham who in 1934 advocated and recommended that employment be granted to Nigerians but not in the administrative service; also that opportunities be created with the Native Administration. She spoke from both sides of the mouth as Davidson's work showed her short-sighted remarks on Azikiwe. According to Perham "But what scope... can the rudimentary Ibo groups offer one of its kinds who has spent ten years at American Universities accumulating academic qualifications" (Perham, 1986). At the time of Perham, colonial politics used selection for appointment of representatives of the masses, an import Obasanjo and the PDP re-invented in Nigeria's pseudo democracy in 2007. Indirect Rule and Self-government were other trappings of colonialism.

Another factor that fuelled competition among the regional structure, and that also, which influenced intensified publicity by the political parties was the target audience saturated with years of colonial divide and rule pattern. This brainwashed ethnic target audience was sought by the different political parties and the majority resided in the rural areas or sub-urban areas. Added to these were the various ethnic associations that equally constituted targeting public. Invariably, there was competition among the three regionally based political parties for the control of the central government. Arguably, the intensity of 1959 political publicity also rested on the exposure attained by some of the nationalists who studied in Europe and America. Both Azikiwe and Awolowo with such exposures became media promoters. Also, the first attempt at establishing a graphic studio in Nigeria by the West African Publicity

Ltd in 1955 was unsuccessful. They simply could not find artists to recruit as a result none inclusion of art in the school curriculum. Although, the Ministry of Information before 1960 had a graphic unit, their knowledge was too narrow: was limited to screen printing and hand lettering for poster designs.

Examples abound, between 1920s and 1950s which show that advancement in the printing process made possible the production of half tone photographs publishable in magazines and newspapers. As a result, several illustrated dailies and weeklies emerged in Berlin, London and New-York. New technology in camera popularized photo-reportage. And as soon as the radio license issue was resolved, it became part of the popular culture in the 1930s and 1940s. Dominic (2002) situates the impact of radio clearly: “Audiences tuned to the new medium for live coverage of the events leading to the World War II”. The writer goes further:”Listeners could hear live the voices of world leaders such as Adolf Hitler and British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain”.

Television also came of age in the late 1950s and was sought after extensively as mass culture progressed. Media development in Europe and influences informed Azikiwe’s establishment of the *West African Pilot* and Awolowo’s foresight at establishing the first television station WNTV in Nigeria as well as Africa. More importantly, the inertia for emancipation, competition and for Nigeria to move along the mass cultural dispensation was paramount to the nationalists, see (Plate 1), which vividly illustrates Nnamdi Azikiwe’s Pan Africanist’s effort through higher education and human capital developmental needs for Africa’s growth. Consciously, democracy and its dividends were considered as the panacea for achievement of economic and socially desirable goals. Aptly, the dispensation of publicity within evolving world trends constituted an important tool required in their resolve to attain a perfect democracy.

Experts believe that one can assess a country by the nature of its advertising. Effort in the direction of publicity activities in Nigeria was promoted by the Unilever. This multinational conglomerate incorporated the West African Publicity (WAP) in 1928. Meanwhile, WAP’s initial studios were located in African House, Sergeant Court in far away London. But it had a sizeable workforce in Lagos for outdoor site construction and bill posting. This outfit succeeded in introducing, Poster, Pamphlet and Press, known as the 3Ps, as publicity graphics in West Africa by 1960 (Amifor, 2000/2001).

1959 Publicity Campaign

As a matter of fact, following the nature of polarized target public as a result of colonial politics, the 1959 publicity campaign employed by various political parties during the general election was quite competitive. And, it was limited to individual

regional financial capacity. After 1959, this primordial effort shifted gradually from publicity method to consumer benefit oriented advertising in later elections. Along the memory lane, and since 1928 when publicity effort was initiated in Nigeria through the activities of West African Publicity, the country witnessed direct and indirect elections, but it was just recently that recourse to advertising political parties in the strict modern sense started to chart its course, only in 1992.

As a matter of fact, responses to the site of consumer benefit oriented advertising started its transition only in 1960, the year of Nigeria's independence. This was sequel to the establishment of operational full service agency as well as relocation to the operational site of ethics. In that terrain, ethics functioned as the cardinal point of practice. In addition, the arrival of Graham and Gillies in 1959 to ushered in competition against Lintas (West Africa) Ltd on the scene hastened practice and the transition from publicity activities in place to conventional agency site (Amifor, 2000/2001).

During the 1959 elections, Crown Poster, a primary mode of outdoor communication, featured considerably for positioning both the party flag bearers as well as other candidates. Meanwhile, other media channels often classified in advertising parlance as below-the-line were also used. These below-the-line materials included gift items such as Tee-shirts, umbrella, badges, face cap, among others. Most the novelty graphic materials displayed the pictures of party candidates such as Nnamdi Azikiwe of the NCNC, Obafem Awolowo of the Action Group (AG) as well as Ahmadu Bello of the NPC. Designed materials also came with iconic images representing various party logos, including party slogans. Parents were targeted and reached through their children using pencils, erasers and sharpeners embellished with party house colours, flag-bearers image, party emblem and slogans.

Most considered and valued target public are the women societies. They were reached through printed Abada fabrics adorned with the pictures of Azikiwe and Awolowo particularly. The content of the fabric designs included large images of the flag bearers, logo and slogans. The meanings that these symbols inferred were quite insightful and revealing. For example, a Crowing Cock represented the NCNC awakening the position taken. Apparently, this was a clarion call beckoning on Africans to arise and restore the dignity of man denied Africans by colonialism.

Meanwhile, the Action Group had a Palm tree as its symbol suggestive of all that God has endowed Nigeria. These could be reasoned as valuable and useful attributes associated with this wonder tree. Its use as a symbol was an "association of ideas" that shows the belief that every part of the tree is useful to mankind. Just like the Action Group, the image of the NPC was simply represented with a Hoe, a symbol of agriculture, the sustenance of life. In fact, agriculture is often regarded as God's given profession to mankind. In (Plate 2) depicts vividly depicts these three

major symbols cock, palm tree and hoe as well as the process of orientation the electoral officers underwent towards conduct of election at a polling booth, Such process continues even today with the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) but with improved facilities. One remarkable credit of 1959 publicity campaign effort was that it was issue oriented. Characteristically, posters, flyers, pamphlets contained messages extolling the virtues of various parties and their candidates. These were complemented with film shows at open fields or local school grounds and town spaces. Loudspeakers were installed on or in Land-Rovers as music reeled out lyrics and jingles reminiscent of Pearl and Dean method of publicity in which film shots of the candidates addressing the crowd as documentary exercise were strolled in intermittently between feature films. This was the publicity pattern of Blue Band Magarine or the Sunlight Soap of the Lever Brothers fame in 1950s.

Differentiation

In spite of the rudimentary pattern of publicity adapted by the parties, only one party deviated from the general approach, the Action Group. Its candidate chief Obafemi Awolowo utilized an outdoor medium “Skywriting and Trail Signs” for promotional differentiation. In practice, differentiation works on the premise that, it is rare for two identical products to perform same functions. Reasonably, they may seem to perform identical functions but each contains slight nuances that make it more attractive to individuals or segments of the market. Based on these facts, “Skywriting and Trail Sign” was a marvel to underdeveloped Nigerians. But the experience was positioning the Action Group party in a foretold experiences regarding what could follow after the attainment of independence.

As much as Skywriting and Trail Signs were a marvellous experience, it was regarded as reckless spending and show of affluence by critics of Awolowo. In spite of such criticism, the exercise ushered in differentiation in campaign strategies which the advertising industries were later to grapple with since 1960. The effectiveness of the medium depends on favourable weather condition, because it works only on a bright sky. And, when the message “Vote Awo, Vote AG” trails the light aircraft, the movement kept every head admiring both the aircraft and the message as they dissolved into the cloud.

When viewed from today’s competitive marketplace, most of the parties positioned in designed materials of 1959 election seemed to fulfil their basic purposes enumerated in their manifestoes as well as philosophy of each contestant. But manifestoes also failed to win elections for candidates in spite of the differentiation. Seen from the perspective of modem marketing and advertising, consumers do not buy products or services primarily to solve problems but mainly to obtain satisfaction and value associated with superior performance. Perhaps and based on these reasons, rather than return Awolowo and AG, the voters given individual geographical and

variable needs, thought otherwise. Therefore, in spite of the differentiation in favour of AG, geophysical differences determined the outcome of the election. Undeniably art was used to sensitize the citizenry during the election campaign. Art was also used as a Public Relation stunt means of political criticism as (Plate1) reflects the need for Africans emancipation from colonialism.

1964 General Election

Lessons from 1959 campaigns show that, the Action Group achieved promotional competitive edge over the NCNC and NPC. However, other factors added to the personalities involved ensured successes of parties at different geographical polls without an overall winner. In 1964, election design materials followed the pattern of 1959. It relied on bellow-the-line media channels as well as similar publicity effort expended earlier. However, Skywriting and Trail Sign were conspicuously absent among the campaign graphic materials. Rather major battles were fought on the pages of newspaper following carpet crossing and re-alignment of the parties. NPC aligned with Akintola's NNDP and was called Nigerian National Alliance. While the Action Group aligned with the NCNC in what was referred to as United Progressive Grand Alliance UPGA.



Plate 1: 1959 General Elections polling boot

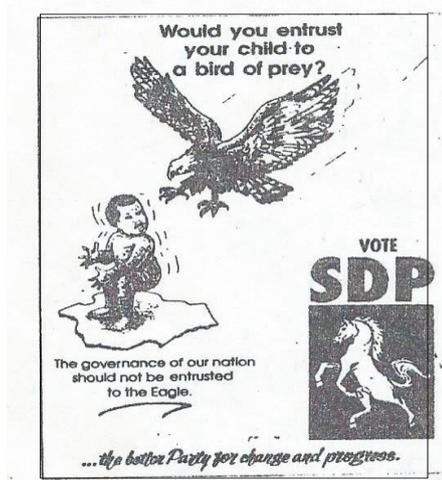


Plate 2: 1993 General Elections Newspaper



Plate3: 1993 Newspaper camp

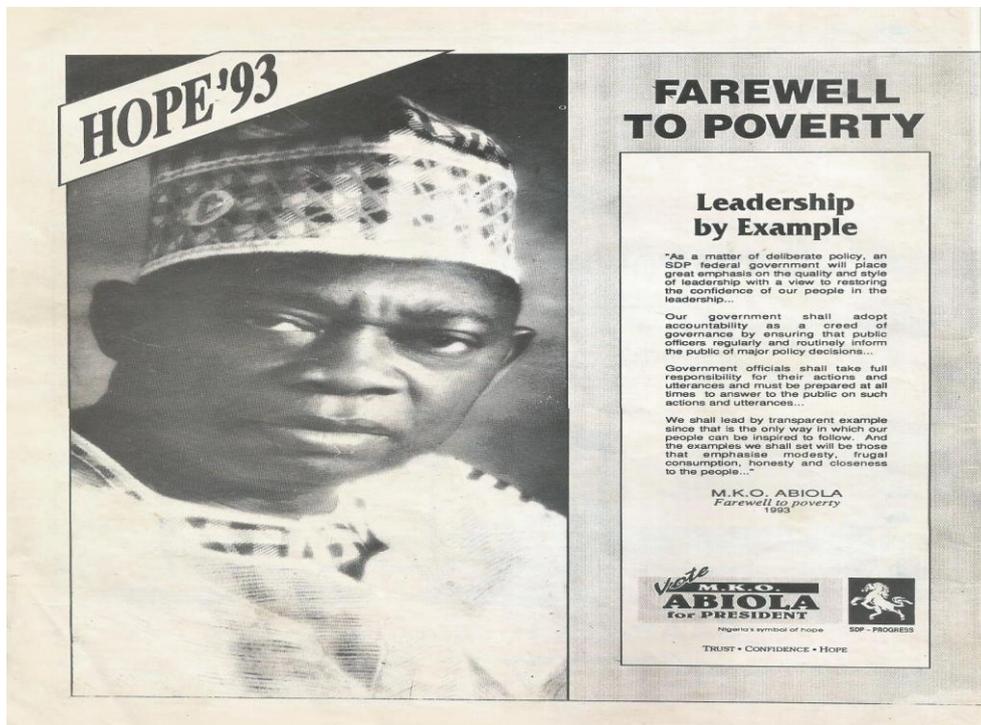


Plate 4 Chief M.K.O. Abiola, winner of 1993 annuled Presidential Election campaigns

Second Republic

After several years of military rule spanning between 1966 and 1979, the next election was in 1979. Again Skywriting and Trail Signs as part of promotional package was cut off. Rather, the differentiation attempted by Awolowo was the use of airplane transportation of the UPN flag bearer to campaign grounds round the country. Again posters and other graphic materials were deployed. However, the noticeable difference was the use of Newspapers and Outdoor poster Sites, all of which complimented radio messages. UPN showing with airplane transportation to fly its presidential candidate reduced stress, fatigue, conserved time and undeniably gave it competitive edge over NPP, NPN, PRP and GNPP logistically.

1983 general election could be regarded as memorable; before the election the opposition parties to NPN notably UPN and NPP had established radio and television stations with better graphic montage, programming and visual superiority, the Federal Government propaganda organ NTA. The UPN controlled Lagos State established the Lagos Television. While in far away Enugu, Jim Nwobodo, the flamboyant governor of Anambra State established state of art TV Station ABS Channel 50 which made the NTA a caricature of TV broadcasting and forced it to change its visual graphics.

In fact, it was not until 1983 that NTA changed over to analogue following the competition from the rival stations. There was, in addition, Plateau Television that followed the direction of ABS Channel 50. Plateau State was also an NPP controlled State. Ogun Television was equally loud and outstanding. These TV stations and the competition set in positioned NTA on the edge. Following the competitive edge the Federal Government resorted to dichotomy to stem competition in a desperate policy that reserved VHF only for its stations and UHF for the States. Clearly, the policy limited the coverage of the State TV stations, including, graphic imaging.

The graphic design messages in 1983 took positive dimension to advertising rather than publicity. Notably, two parties UPN and NPN procured television commercials and newspaper materials which, in advertising parlance, are regarded as above-the-line or primary media. They also engaged the Outdoor services as a reminder medium. Some of these materials, arguably, were presumed procured from the famous Saatchi and Saatchi as well as from another advertising agency in London. Messages were quite decisive, and images vividly touched-up and well positioned. Aply, designs of 1983 exhibited aesthetics except in message content. Put simply, such works, in spite of their aesthetic sensibility, denied branding its position, because the messages defied economic realities on ground and resorted to pre-determined promises of the past. Such was even the case of UPN that promised free education reminiscent of 1950s and 1960s Western Regional policy than 1983 realities when several factories were operating at 20% installed capacity which

evidenced failing economy. The reason for such lack luster approach is digressed in research equation.

1993 and Research Equation

1993 election campaign materials were quite a different situation from the preceded years in the sense that several media channels were put to use. The innovative attraction was the television debate between the two presidential aspirants, Chief Moshood Abiola of the Social democratic Party (SDP) and Alhaji Albashir Tofa of the National Republican Council (NRC). Their two running mates, Ambassador Babagana Kingibe of the SDP as well as Dr. Sylvester Ugo, of NRC were equally beamed on television to the audience at home. These exercises enabled one discern the level of advertising practice given the magnitude of graphic material deployed for electioneering campaign. Reasonably, the issue of ethics became paramount.

Ethics generally are the moral principles as well as values that govern an individual in a society. In advertising, it is the cardinal code of professional conduct of practice. It is also guided by research before designs are exposed to the audience. The essence of advertising, which graphics is its engine room, is to convince prospects through persuasive message construct to buy products, patronize services and ideas positioned in the design.⁷ Critics of advertising see its functions from sometimes varied negative angles. Advertising and other types of professional messages are used to sell products and services as well as to promote causes, market political candidates and deal with societal issues starting from the debate (Plate3), taunted the NRC with a message positioning that seemed as if they were afraid of debate. Eventually, the NRC was lured to it.(Plates 2-3) seem to have positioned NRC as birds of prey, ready to devour the economy. This issue has been treated extensively by this writer in *USO Nigerian Journal of Art*. Since both parties were made of people that failed the nation both as politicians and military personnel, these messages were considered unethical.

That brings us back to the issue of research before message positioning. This could be appreciated in some of the issue oriented designs of MKO Abiola “Hope 93” (Plate 4) “Farewell to Poverty”. In this message, the bedrock of poverty was to be addressed in (1) the establishment of Youth Skill Development Centre in every local government (2) Restoration of the original 6-3-3-4 system of education, (3) Grass-root financing from Community Banks and (4) Welfare of Workers. Welfarism was an issue raised by the NCNC during the 1959 elections.

The place of research before positioning cannot be overemphasized. And perhaps a close study of Saatchi and Saatchi positioning of the conservative party during Margaret Thatcher as the British Prime Minister illustrates the issue of research

clearly. Saatchi claims that they “have now been involved in fighting and winning elections on behalf of the conservatives” (Satchi & Satchi, 1990). And that “In 1983, our second election, our contribution was not just in helping win the election, but in helping achieve the largest government majority for almost 40 years”. Further from Saatchi” The country was still faced with serious problems – but our research showed us that in the face of these problems, the people felt the need for firm and decisive leaders” (Satchi & Satchi, 1990).

Again, in 2007 the campaigns were all-comers game, while in 1992, three major advertising agencies in Nigeria like the Insight, Sunrise, BBDO and Eminent worked for both parties, the NRC and SDP. And this reason accounted for mature graphics.

Dynamics of Political Advertising

Parker (1994) maintains that “the function of designers in our world is, first of all, to intensify the awareness of the audience to which they are communicating, because they make the communication.”¹⁵ This could be seen in Hope 93 of MKO’s magazine advertisement (Plate 6). Because advertising enables a party subject its programme to the electorate through market research, it helps the party to determine what to offer through positioning and highlighted benefits. It enables warm and memorable graphic messages created. One can easily recollect the jingle “MKO is our man O...” of 1993 elections which was quite popular with both children and adults alike.

As earlier pointed out, advertising in spite of effective graphic message, depends on other virtues in delivering viable options. 1983 with its attendant massive rigging made it difficult to ascribe NPN victory to packaged campaign. Asobie (1998) in similar vein elucidates on some of these vices:

It was this common political interest that led to the emergence and strengthening between 1979 and 1983 of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). The NPN held under its umbrella factors of the indigenous bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes including the remnants of the feudal elements. The bulk of the leadership of the NPN was however comprador. Shagari’s regime created a conducive environment for the comprador to blossom.”(p. 4).

In brand marketing, the key to success lies in a thorough understanding of the market, the consumer and the competition. It is dependent on the knowledge and a clear vision of the role the brand will play in the market; and the role must be to meet a particular need better than competitive brands. This is because the consumer perception of a brand varies markedly from the manufacturer’s intimate knowledge of

the brand. The same applies to the politician. The only solution to the problem is market research; because it will do for a political party what it does for a brand.

In 2007, what Obasanjo did that was similar to Perham was that parties did not rely so much on advertising as vehicle of persuasion to alter attitude of the electorate but relied on the ability to manipulate the election. Part of such unethical dependence featured on Obasanjo's imposition of candidates, reinforced with public speeches laden with thrust on abusive and intimidating, dictatorial and threatening outburst such as "this election is going to be do or die" during the PDP rally at Abeokuta. The role of advertising was undermined.

Evidence abound in works by several people on April 2007 election inadequacies. Tenuche (2007) concludes that "Chief Obasanjo ended up presiding over a monumental rigged kind of election"(p 65). Other critics of April 2007 elections expressed displeasure, amongst them Fawehimi who regarded the exercise as "a monumental fraud and veritable electoral fraud."¹⁸ National Democratic Institute, observed that "The exercise was marred by so much malpractice that it was unclear whether its outcome reflects the will of Nigerians" (Tenuche, pp.64-65).

Most difficult to ignore was Van Der Berg, an observer member of Observer Team of the European Union (EU) who acclaimed that "European Union (EU) was bitterly disappointed by the election and that the Union has released 'her' toughest ever statement about the election" (Tenuche, p. 77). Further, to disconnect of advertising propensity by April 2007 elections is discernible from Eya a former electoral commissioner in Anambra State. He lists all the shenanigan and all manner of electoral fraud as follows, abused and malpractices reminiscent in Nigeria over the years as follows:

Multiple registration, hoarding of voters card, underage registration, destruction of voters card, impersonation, forgery, block recruitment of agents, poor training of ad-hoc staff, non-payment of recruits, when due, bribery to influence recruits, sponsoring of supporters to be among recruits, supply of poor quality materials as electoral, late delivery of electoral material, poor management of logistic support, inflation of accredited numbers multiple voting, influencing voters, falsification, high jacking of materials, intimidation of voters/officials, collusion by law enforcement agents (Cited in Oddih, 2003, pp. 160-161)

Nnadozie (2007) aptly rounds up the shenanigans that "The ruling PDP exploited its incumbency to the fullest by mobilizing and deploying every available instrument of the state including the police and the military personnel before, during and after the election to ensure its retention of power, in spite of its dismissal performance during

its just tenure” Incitement during campaigns, inflammatory speeches, slandering of opponents, ethnic, /religions sentiments, kidnapping, illegal detention, tugging, intimidation, bribery, destruction/withholding evidence, deliberate tune – in election tribunal

Every issue raised since June 1959 – 2007 election publicity materials with limited application show cased causes of neglect and reliance on manipulations. In a nutshell Table(1) encompassing all the elections and shenanigans that resulted from 1959 to 2007 elections; as well captured back- up assertion credited to Eya. The question that arises is “how could advertising design be persuasive in Nigeria’s electoral space if the mind set of politicians are far from democratic principles? Imposition of candidates made branding of the politicians difficult. Invariably research was thrown overboard as unearthing saleable creative theme as marketing ploy for politicians was ignored.

Table II: A summary of estimated electoral quality, electoral law violation, irregularity, violence and electoral deficit in credibility as manifested in the Nigerian General Elections between 1959 – 2007.

ELV=LII=LV=DEC

General election	Democratic Quality in percentage	Electoral law violation in percentage	Level of irregularity in %	Level of electoral violence in percentage	Chairman and electoral management	Deficit in electoral credibility
1959	75	25	25	25	Chairman and electoral management	Low
1964	40	60	60	60	Mr. R.E. Warith 1958-1960	Very High
1979	80	20	20	20	Eyo Emana Esia 1963-1966	Low
1983	35	65	65	65	Chief Michael Ani 1976-1979	Very High
1993	65	35	35	35	Prof. Humphrey Nwosu 1986-1993	Low
1999	60	40	40	40	Justice Ephraim Akpata 1998-2005	Low
2003	75	75	75	75	Abel Guobadia 2000-2005	Very High
2007	5	95	95	95	Prof. Maurice Iwu 2005-2007	Extremely Very High

Sources: Bako S. (2006, 2007; INEC 2008)

The only candidate with remarkable issue was the Cross River State governor Donald Duke, but owing to imposition of Musa Yar dua by the Olusegun Obasanjo, Duke could not make it beyond PDP primary election. Duke identified 3 points of focus for greater Nigerian future: Vision, Integrity, and Hard work. These were missing virtues in average Nigerian mind set.

Conclusion

Basically, two approaches to political advertising have been used in Nigeria since the 1959 election: the Hardsell and Softsell. Both employed above-the-line and below-the-line, and were often mixed for effective coverage. Hardsell diploid evidenced strong presence of primary media including Billboard as a reminder medium. They also included promotional items already enumerated, and basically public relations which parties embarked on to reach their target audience, including research to determine target audience, their taste, lifestyle, habit, among others, before creative direction.

Secondary media as publicity/public relations, involved gift items such as Tee-shirts, pen, badges, among others. Both hardsell and softsell complemented each other in Nigeria's political campaign packaging, and provided cost effective means of building a good corporate image for the party.

Their major advantage is that they incorporate bellow-the-line materials to attempt using advertising direction capable of improving electoral fortunes. Both directions, in actual sense, involve one form of market research to some extent, but quite often as in 1999-2007 elections it was disregarded because politicians applied unethical practices to subvert free and fair elections. Polarization created by colonial dichotomy, divide and rule among other vices eroded total reliance on visual communication as essential tools for electioneering campaign. However, graphic design remains interwoven with politicians but once they are elected the politicians forget art and its overall functionality in nation's economic industrialization.

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